ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[586]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it twice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be repudiated by this "intervening husband" before the husband can take her back[587]. The Quran forbids the practice of *ẓihār*, or, if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's (*ʿalayya ka-ẓahr ummī* = *ẓihār*)[588]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station, in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[589], girls under nine (or up to puberty)), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being repudiated (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom he soon comes to hate never sees, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the sharīʿa to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four houses of the village schoolmaster that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the shaikh families in Tegawra, Bergalu, Shaikān and Sarkan. Soane[590] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[591]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Tegawra the servant with had five children aged 10, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the shaikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old shaikh in Shaikān. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married men with wives and

586 587 [582] 562 586 586 [858] 114 565 595 [848]